

University of Pennsylvania
Political Science 213 – 401
(Cross-listed LTAM 213-401)
Latin American Politics - Spring 2005

Prof. Tulia Falletti

Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:30pm to 3:00pm

Location: Annenberg, Room 111

Office hours: Tuesdays 3:30 to 5:00pm and by appointment

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Course Description

This course examines the dynamics of political and economic change in twentieth century Latin America, with the goal of achieving an understanding of contemporary politics in the region. We will analyze topics such as the incorporation of the region to the international economy and the consolidation of oligarchic states (1880s to 1930s), corporatism, populism, and elite pacts (1930s and 1940s), social revolution, democratic breakdown, and military rule (1960s and 1970s), transitions to democracy and human rights advocacy (1980s), market-oriented reforms (1990s), and the current promises and challenges of democracy in the region. The course will draw primarily from the experiences of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. No prior knowledge of the region is required.

Course Requirements

- Class participation and best of two quizzes: 15%
- Group presentation: 10%
- Midterm exam: 35%
- Final exam: 40%

Class participation and best of two quizzes: The course has a relatively heavy reading load (120 to 130 pages per week). Therefore, it is essential that students keep up with the readings and come prepared to class. There will be a combination of lectures and group discussions and activities each week, which presume familiarity with the assigned materials. Attendance is mandatory and the contents of the lectures will be tested in the exams. Two quizzes will be administered throughout the semester, which will test on the required materials (readings *and* movies) for the corresponding week or unit. Students can miss one of the quizzes or drop the lowest score.

Group presentations: Students will analyze and offer a political science perspective critique of one movie or documentary, for which they will sign up prior to January 20th. The group oral presentation will be 15- to 20-minute long. Class discussion of the movie or documentary will follow, led by the presenters. These presentations will entail independent research on the

director's motivation to make this film or documentary and on the events or stories portrayed in the film. More importantly, these oral presentations should relate the film to the course readings of the corresponding week and preceding weeks if relevant. Group presentations will be given a Poor, Fair, Good, Very Good or Excellent mark.

Midterm exam: In-class exam on March 3 consisting of three parts: multiple choice questions, identification questions and essay. There will not be a make-up exam unless previously authorized.

Final exam: In-class cumulative exam. Scheduled by the registrar's office on Thursday, April 28th, 11am to 1pm (check registrar's website for room location). Format will be similar to the midterm exam.

Course Materials

Required Books (available for purchase at the Penn Bookstore: 3601 Walnut St., 898-4500, coursebk@pobox.upenn.edu)

1. Skidmore, Thomas E., and Peter H. Smith. 2001. *Modern Latin America*. 5th ed. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2. Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *Chile, Breakdown of democratic regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
3. O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Other materials

All other materials will be online, in the course's website. Access the course through <https://courseweb.library.upenn.edu/>. The readings are ordered chronologically under the heading "Course Documents."

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Week 1. Introduction

January 11. Introduction

Course presentation, course logistics, and self-introductions.

Screening of *Plan Colombia* (2003) a documentary by Gerard Ungerman and Audrey Brohy.

January 13. Latin America as a region

- Chasteen, John Charles. 2001. *Born in Blood and Fire. A concise history of Latin America*. first ed. New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 15-27.
- Skidmore and Smith, "Why Latin America?," 1-12.

Discussion of *Plan Colombia*

Week 2. Theoretical and historical overviews

January 18. Theories of Latin American development

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1986. Values, Education, and Entrepreneurship. In *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 39-75.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, vii-xxv, 1-28, 172-176.
- Valenzuela, Samuel J., and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment. *Comparative Politics* 10 (4): 535-557.

Recommended:

Klarén, Peter F. 1986. Lost Promise: Explaining Latin American Underdevelopment. In *Promise of Development. Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview, 3-33.

January 20. Historical stages of economic and political (under) development

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 2, "The Transformation of Modern Latin America," 42-67.
- Furtado, Celso. 1986. Economic Development of Latin America. In *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 124-148.

Weeks 3 and 4. Mexico: From social revolution to corporatism

January 25. The Mexican Revolution

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 7 "Mexico: The Taming of a Revolution," 217-258.

January 27. Corporatism and Hegemonic Party System

- Screening of *Herod's Law*, 1999, Mexico, Director: Luis Estrada.

February 1st. Corporatism and Hegemonic Party System (cont.)

- Stevens, Evelyn P. 1977. Mexico's PRI: The Institutionalization of Corporatism? In *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, edited by J. M. Malloy: University of Pittsburgh Press, 227-258.

Group presentation on *Herod's Law*

Recommended

Grindle, Merilee S. 1977. Patrons and Clients in the Bureaucracy: Career Networks in Mexico. *Latin American Research Review* 12 (1): 37-66. (Focus particularly on the section "The Patron-Client Model," pp. 53-61.)

Weeks 4 and 5 Argentina: From middle class incorporation to populism

February 3. Consolidation of the nation-state and the incorporation of the middle classes.

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 3 “Argentina: Prosperity, Deadlock and Change,” 68-106
- Rock, David. 1975. "The first Radical government, 1916-22," Chapter 5, *Politics in Argentina: 1890-1930. The Rise and Fall of Radicalism*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 95-124.

February 8. Peronism: the political incorporation of the working-class.

Screening of Movie: *Eva Perón*, 1996, Argentina. Director: Juan Carlos Desanzo.

February 10. Peronism: the political incorporation of the working-class (cont.)

- James, Daniel. 1988. “Peronism and the working class, 1943-55,” in *Resistance and Integration. Peronism and the Argentina working class, 1946-1976*, Cambridge University Press, 7-40.

Group presentation on *Eva Perón*

Week 6. Chile: From democracy to socialism, dictatorship, and back: Chile

February 15. Historical and political overview

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 4 “Chile: Socialism, Repression, and Democracy,” 107-136.
- Movie: *Missing*, 1982, Chile. Director: Costa-Gavras. (You must watch this movie on your own. It will be on reserve at Van Pelt Library)

February 17. The rise of Allende to power and the military coup

- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The breakdown of democratic regimes. Chile*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Winn, Peter. 2004. “The Other 9/11. My Coup Diary.” In *Revista. Harvard Review of Latin America*, Spring, 48-54.

Group presentation on *Missing*

Recommended:

Hite, Katherine. 2004. “Chile’s National Stadium. As Monument, as Memorial.” In *Revista. Harvard Review of Latin America*, Spring, 58-61.

Week 7. Brazil in Comparative Perspective: Federalism and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism

February 22. Historical Background

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 5 “Brazil: Development for Whom?,” 137-176.
- O’Donnell Guillermo. 1971. “Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics,” in P. Klaren and T. Bossert, *Promise of Development*, 239-275.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1973. “The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion,” in Alfred Stepan (ed.) *Authoritarian Brazil. Origins, Policies and Future*, Yale

University Press, pp. 47-65, reproduced in Stepan. 2001. *Arguing Comparative Politics*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 23-38.

February 24: Authoritarian Regimes of the 1960s and 1970s (Argentina, Brazil, Chile)

- Schamis, Hector E. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23 (2): 201-220.
- Movie: *Four days in September*, 1997, Brazil. Director: Bruno Barreto (watch on your own).
Group presentation on *Four days in September*

Week 8. Review and mid-term examination

March 1: Review class

Recommended:

Hartlyn and Valenzuela. 1998. "Democracy in Latin America since 1930," in Leslie Bethell (ed.) *Latin America. Politics and Society since 1930*, Cambridge University Press, 3-66.

March 3: In-class midterm

Week 9. Spring break. Enjoy!

March 8 and 10

Week 10. Transitions to democracy

March 15: Latin America after authoritarian rule

- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. "Democratization and public opposition," in *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1-16.
- O'Donnell and Schmitter *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, 78 pages.

March 17: Democratic Transitions

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1984]. Democracy in Argentina: Macro and Micro. In *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 51-62.
- Viola, Eduardo and Mainwaring, Scott. 1985. "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," in *Journal of International Affairs*, 38, Winter, 193-219.
- Movie: *The Official Story*, 1985, Argentina. Director: Luis Puenzo (watch on your own)
Group presentation on *The official story*

Recommended:

Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means - Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23 (2): 147-170.

Week 11. Human Rights: dealing with the consequences of state terrorism

March 22: Argentina's transition to democracy and its human rights record

- Pion-Berlin, David. 1993. "To Prosecute or to Pardon? Human Rights Decision in the Latin American Southern Cone," in *Human Rights Quarterly* 15, 105-130.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The third wave*, section of Chapter 5: 208-231

Documentary: *Las Madres: The mothers of Plaza de Mayo*, Argentina, 1986. (watch on your own)

Recommended

Nunca Más. A report by Argentina's National Commission on Disappeared People. 1986. London and Boston: Faber and Faber. xi-xvi, 1-6, 9-75, 284-294, 318-320, 442-449.

March 24: Human right's: domestic and international forces.

- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, Chapter 3 "Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," 79-120.
- Pion-Berlin, David. 2004. "The Pinochet Case and Human Rights Progress in Chile: Was Europe a Catalyst, Cause or Inconsequential?" In *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 36, 479-505.

Group presentation on *Las Madres*

Week 12. The "lost decade" of the 1980s and the market-oriented reforms of the 1990s

March 29

- Pastor, Robert A. 1987. "The Debt Crisis: A Financial or a Development Problem?" In Robert A. Pastor, ed. *Latin America's Debt Crisis. Adjusting to the Past or Planning for the Future?*, 1-21.
- Williamson, John. 1997. "The Washington Consensus Revisited." In *Economic and social development into the XXI Century*, edited by L. Emmerij. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Inter-American Development Bank, distributed by The Johns Hopkins University Press, 48-59.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2003. "Whither reform? Towards a new agenda for Latin America." *CEPAL Review*, 80, August, 7-37.
- Documentary *La Deuda* by Jorge Lanata (watch on your own)

Group presentation on the documentary *La Deuda*

Recommended:

Gibson, Edward. 1997. "The populist road to market reform: Policy and electoral coalitions in Mexico and Argentina," *World Politics* 49, April, 339-370.

Heredia, Blanca. 1994. "Making Economic Reform Politically Viable: The Mexican Experience," in *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America*, 264-295.

March 31

Visit of Professor Celina Souza, from Universidade de Bahia, Brazil.

Week 13. Current Challenges (I): Dealing with the consequences of market-oriented reforms (poverty and inequality)

April 5

- Sheahan, John. 1997. "Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico, and Peru." *Latin American Research Review* 32 (3): 7-37.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1998]. "Poverty and Inequality in Latin America: Some Political Reflections." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 195-215.
- Pastor, Manuel Jr., and Carol Wise. 1999. "The Politics of Second-Generation Reform." *Journal of Democracy* 10 (3): 34-48.

April 7

- Karl, Terry Lynn. 2000. "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability." *Journal of Democracy* 11 (1): 149-156.
- Korzeniewicz, Roberto Patricio and William C. Smith. 2000. "Poverty, Inequality, and Growth in Latin America: Searching for the High Road to Globalization." In *Latin American Research Review*, 35, 3, 7-54
- Bearak, Barry. 2004. "Poor Man's Burden." In *The New York Times Magazine*. Sunday, June 27th, 30-35, 50, 56, 59.
- Movie: *City of God*, 2002, Brazil. Director: Fernando Meirelles and Kátia Lund (co-director) (watch on your own)

Group presentation on *City of God*

Week 14. Current Challenges (II): The rule of law

April 12

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1994]. "Delegative Democracy." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 159-173.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1993]. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 133-157.
- Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 1997.

April 14. Economic crisis and the rule of law

- Levitsky, Steve. 2003. "Argentina. From Crisis to Consolidation (and Back)," in Domínguez J. and Shifter M., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 244-268.
- Petras, James D. and Henry Veltmeyer. 2004. "Argentina: 18 Months of Popular Struggle – A Balance." In *Mind and Human Interaction*, 13, 169-181
- "The long road back. A survey of Argentina" *The Economist*. June 5th, 2004, 1-12.

- Movie: *Lugares Comunes*, Argentina, 2002, Director: Adolfo Aristarain (watch on your own).

Group presentation on *Lugares Comunes*

Week 15. Challenge or Promise? Subnational governments in Latin America

April 19

- Cornelius, Wayne A. 1999. "Subnational Politics and Democratization: Tensions between Center and Periphery in the Mexican Political System." In *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*, edited by W.A. Cornelius. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego: 3-16.
- Samuels, David, and Fernando Luiz Abrucio. 2000. Federalism and Democratic Transitions: The "New" Politics of the Governors in Brazil. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 30 (2): 43-61.
- Gibson, E. L., and E. Calvo. 2000. "Federalism and low-maintenance constituencies: Territorial dimensions of economic reform in Argentina." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (3): 32-55.
- Puricelli, Gabriel. 2003. "Argentina's politics shift in a surprising presidential election." *Federations* 3 (3): 3-4.

April 21:

Conclusion and wrap-up.